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DIST 15 DECEMBER 1967

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DOI: EARLY DECEMBER 1967

SUBJECT: JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY EVALUATION OF THE COPENHAGEN  
SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

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DCN  
JAPAN

SUMMARY. WITH THE CONCLUSION OF THE COPENHAGEN SESSION,

CONFIDENTIAL

59 JAN 1968

Schoenman-3374

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THE INTERNATIONAL WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL (IWCT) IS FINISHED AND WILL HAVE NO FUTURE SIGNIFICANCE, IN SPITE OF THE NOMINAL "CONTINUATION COMMITTEE" THAT WAS SET UP TO KEEP THE IWCT NAME ALIVE. THE FRENCH TROTSKYISTS WHO RAN THE COPENHAGEN SESSION REFUSED TO HONOR THE DESIRE OF THE JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY (JCP)-CONTROLLED DELEGATION TO HAVE ITS SPECIALLY SELECTED PERSON ADDED TO THE ROSTER OF TRIBUNAL JUDGES. THIS LED THE JAPANESE DELEGATION TO THE VERGE OF AN EN MASSE WALK OUT ON THE EVE OF THE CONVENING OF THE COPENHAGEN SESSION. THE JAPANESE EVENTUALLY DECIDED TO ACCEPT THIS UNPALATABLE IWCT ACTION AND STAY AT COPENHAGEN, PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF AN APPEAL BY THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATES NOT TO WALK OUT. HOWEVER, WHEN THE JAPANESE DELEGATION RETURNED TO TOKYO, THEY WERE HEAVILY CRITICIZED FOR HAVING COMPROMISED JCP INTEGRITY AND INDEPENDENCE BY NOT WALKING OUT OF THE TRIBUNAL. THE JCP HAS NOW GIVEN UP ITS EXPERIMENT OF COOPERATING WITH THE IWCT EUROPEAN TROTSKYISTS IN THIS INTERNATIONAL VIETNAM FRONT MOVEMENT. ALL FUTURE JCP-DIRECTED VIETNAM FRONT

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ACTIVITY WILL BE CENTERED IN JAPAN ONLY. THE JCP DID RATE HIGHLY THE ACTIVITIES IN COPENHAGEN OF THE THREE U.S.

~~SERVICEMEN WHO APPEARED, THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATES, STOKELY CARMICHAEL, AND DAVE DELLINGER. END SUMMARY.~~

USA  
DENMARK

1. WITH THE CONCLUSION OF THE COPENHAGEN SESSION OF THE IWCT, THE IWCT HAS COMPLETED ITS WORK. THE PRESENT IWCT SECRETARIAT IN PARIS WILL BE ABOLISHED. IT WAS DECIDED AT COPENHAGEN TO ESTABLISH ONLY A NOMINAL "CONTINUATION COMMITTEE" TO KEEP ALIVE THE BASIC FRAMEWORK ORGANIZATION OF THE IWCT. THIS "CONTINUATION COMMITTEE" WILL HAVE NO ACTIVIST ROLE, WILL ORGANIZE NO FUTURE ACTIVITY, AND IS NO MORE THAN THE EXPRESSION OF A COMPROMISE GESTURE TO THE FRENCH IWCT ACTIVISTS WHO INSISTED THAT THE IWCT NOT BE TERMINATED WITHOUT LEAVING BEHIND SOME CONTINUING ORGANIZATIONAL ENTITY. THIS "CONTINUATION COMMITTEE" WILL BE STAFFED BY ONE PERSON (TO BE SELECTED FROM THE OLD IWCT PARIS SECRETARIAT), AND WILL NOMINALLY MAINTAIN CONTINUING LIAISON WITH DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVES FROM SEVEN COUNTRIES. FROM JAPAN, IWCT JUDGE MORIKAWA KANETOSHI OF THE JAPAN COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE WAR CRIMES IN VIETNAM

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(JCIWCV), IS THE DESIGNATED REPRESENTATIVE.

2. HOWEVER, TOP OFFICIALS OF THE JCP AND ITS FRONT, THE JCIWCV, CONSIDER THAT THE IWCT IS FINISHED. THERE IS NO DESIRE ON THEIR PART TO CONTINUE THIS ACTIVITY. IN FACT, THE JCP IS EXTREMELY UPSET AND DISSATISFIED WITH THE IWCT SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS' MANAGEMENT OF THE COPENHAGEN SESSION.

3. THE ASSIGNED FUNCTION OF THE "CONTINUATION COMMITTEE" IS TO WATCH THE FUTURE CONDUCT OF THE VIETNAM WAR AND RECOMMEND THAT A NEW SESSION OF THE IWCT BE CALLED IF APPROPRIATE. HOWEVER, THE ONLY CONDITIONS THAT WOULD ACTUALLY BE ACCEPTED AS WARRANTING A NEW IWCT SESSION WOULD BE A SUDDEN AND SEVERE ESCALATION OF THE WAR BY THE UNITED STATES THROUGH SUCH ACTION AS INTRODUCING ATOMIC WEAPONS INTO THE WAR OR SENDING GROUND TROOPS INTO NORTH VIETNAM.

IF THE WAR CONTINUES ALONG ITS PRESENT PATTERN, EVEN WITH SLIGHT ESCALATIONS, IT IS NOT PLANNED TO CALL ANY MORE IWCT SESSIONS.

4. NO ACTION WAS TAKEN AT COPENHAGEN TO CREATE A NEW, PERMANENT INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OUT OF THE BASE OF THE IWCT, SUCH AS THE PREVIOUSLY PROPOSED WORLD VIETNAM

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COMMITTEE (WVC). THE FRENCH ACTIVISTS WHO CONTROLLED THE IWCT MADE A BID FOR SUPPORT IN ORGANIZING A NEW WVC, BUT COULD NOT MUSTER SUFFICIENT INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT, FACED WITH SUCH WIDE AND DEEP-SEATED FACTIONAL DIFFERENCES AS EXIST AMONG THE VARIOUS LEFTISTS, COMMUNISTS, AND TROTSKYISTS SUPPORTING THE IWCT. DUE TO THE DIFFICULTY OF FINDING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE NEW LEADERSHIP, ORGANIZATIONAL POLICY, AND ACTION PROGRAMS, THE IDEA OF CREATING A NEW WVC OUT OF THE OLD IWCT HAS BEEN ABANDONED. IF A ~~NEW~~ ~~WVC~~ SUCH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION IS CREATED IN THE FUTURE, IT WILL BE MADE FROM WHOLE CLOTH AND WILL NOT BE A DERIVATION OF THE OLD IWCT.

5. THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATES AT COPENHAGEN MADE CLEAR THEIR LACK OF INTEREST IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS, PRESENT OR PROPOSED, WHICH WOULD COMMIT THEMSELVES WITH SUCH CURRENT NON-VIETNAM WAR RELATED COMMUNIST THEMES AS THE ARAB-ISRAEL PROBLEM, THE AMERICAN NEGRO MOVEMENT, OR THE LATIN AMERICAN GUERRILLA WAR MOVEMENT. THE VIETNAMESE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WOULD NOT OPPOSE INTERNATIONAL FRONT ACTIVITY ON THESE NON-VIETNAM WAR ISSUES, BUT DEFINITELY WOULD NOT SUPPORT THEM IN A POSITIVE WAY.

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6. PRIOR TO THE CONVENING OF THE IWCT COPENHAGEN SESSION, THE IWCT PARIS SECRETARIAT INFORMED THE JCIWCV THAT IT WAS PLANNING TO INCREASE SIGNIFICANTLY THE NUMBER OF TRIBUNAL MEMBERS (JUDGES) ABOVE THE APPROXIMATELY 21 ORIGINAL JUDGES. THE PARIS SECRETARIAT SAID THAT THE BULK OF ALL NEWLY ELECTED JUDGES WOULD COME FROM AFRO-ASIAN COUNTRIES AND SOLICITED A NEW JUDGE NOMINEE FROM THE JCIWCV. THE JCIWCV RESPONDED BY SAYING IT WOULD NOMINATE HIRANO YOSHITARO (ALTHOUGH NOW AN OLD MAN, HE IS STILL A HARD CORE JCP LOYALIST AND CHAIRMAN OF THE JAPAN PEACE COMMITTEE) AS THE NEW JAPANESE JUDGE FOR THE COPENHAGEN SESSION.  COMMENT: THE JCP NEWSPAPER, AKAHATA, ANNOUNCED ON 13 NOVEMBER THAT THE JCIWCV DELEGATION TO COPENHAGEN WOULD CONSIST OF TWO IWCT JUDGES, MORIKAWA MANETOSHI AND HIRANO YOSHITARO, AND THREE WITNESSES, FUKUSHIMA YOICHI, FUNAZAKI ENZABURO AND SHIBATA UNINGO, PLUS AN ADDITIONAL WITNESS FROM OKINAWA TO BE SELECTED LATER.)

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7. AS SOON AS THE JCIWCV DELEGATION ARRIVED IN COPENHAGEN, TRIBUNAL JUDGE AND IWCT ACTIVIST LEADER LAURENT SCHWARTZ CONFERRED PRIVATELY WITH MORIKAWA. SCHWARTZ, A NOTED FRENCH MATHEMATICIAN, TOLD MORIKAWA THAT HE HAD RECENTLY RECEIVED A LETTER FROM A JAPANESE MATHEMATICIAN FRIEND, WHOM SCHWARTZ DID NOT IDENTIFY. SCHWARTZ TOLD MORIKAWA THAT HIS JAPANESE FRIEND HAD WRITTEN THAT HIRANO IS STRICTLY UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE JCP, THAT HIRANO'S JAPAN PEACE COMMITTEE IS A JCP FRONT, AND THAT HIRANO IS LACKING IN SUFFICIENT GOOD SENSE TO BE AN ADEQUATE REPRESENTATIVE FROM JAPAN AT THE TRIBUNAL. USING THE EXCUSE THAT HIRANO LACKS THE PUBLIC IMAGE NECESSARY FOR TRIBUNAL JUDGES, SCHWARTZ SAID IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO ADD HIRANO TO THE LIST OF NEW JUDGES TO BE ELECTED FOR THE COPENHAGEN SESSION.

8. MORIKAWA WAS TAKEN ABACK BY THIS DEVELOPMENT, BUT PROPOSED THAT HIRANO BE NAMED AS THE REPLACEMENT FOR MORIKAWA'S FELLOW JAPANESE TRIBUNAL JUDGE, SAKATA SHOICHI, WHO WAS "TOO BUSY TO COME TO COPENHAGEN". SCHWARTZ REFUSED TO ACCEPT MORIKAWA'S COUNTERPROPOSAL, SAYING THAT

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IWCI RULES SPECIFY THAT JUDGES CANNOT BE ELECTED OR DISMISSED EXCEPT WITH THE UNANIMOUS APPROVAL OF ALL THE INCUMBENT JUDGES. THEREFORE, SAKATA SHOULD REMAIN LISTED AS A TRIBUNAL JUDGE, EVEN THOUGH HE WAS UNABLE TO ATTEND THIS SESSION.

9.  COMMENT: SAKATA AND MORIKAWA ARE THE ONLY TWO JAPANESE ORIGINALLY NAMED AS IWCT JUDGES. MORIKAWA HAS BEEN ACTIVE IN IWCT AND JCIWCV WORK FROM THE BEGINNING AND SAT AS A JUDGE AT THE MAY STOCKHOLM SESSION. HE WAS RELEIVED OF HIS POST AS SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE JCIWCV IN JUNE, BECAUSE OF THE DESIRE OF THE JCP TO PLACE A MORE MILITANT OFFICIAL IN THIS POST, BUT NO QUESTION OF MORIKAWA'S LOYALTY TO THE JCP WAS RAISED. SAKATA, ON THE OTHER HAND, WHILE NAMED ORIGINALLY AS AN IWCT JUDGE BECAUSE OF HIS PROMINENCE AS A JAPAN ACADEMY PHYSICIST, WAS CUT OUT OF JCIWCV WORK EARLY THIS YEAR BY THE JCP LEADERSHIP, WHO DISTRUSTED SAKATA'S PRO-MAOIST SYMPATHIES. AS A RESULT, SAKATA DID NOT ATTEND EITHER THE STOCKHOLM OR THE COPENHAGEN SESSIONS, ALTHOUGH HE STILL REMAINS NOMINALLY LISTED AS AN IWCT JUDGE. SINCE SAKATA HAS NOT OPENLY BROKEN WITH THE

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... AS A RESULT OF HIS PRO-MAO LEANINGS, THE JCP ATTITUDE TOWARD HIM HAS BEEN TO AVOID PUBLIC CRITICISM OF HIM BUT TO KEEP HIM POLITICALLY ISOLATED AND INACTIVE.)

10. IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING HIS PRIVATE SESSION WITH SCHWARTZ, MORIKAWA REPORTED IN FULL TO THE REST OF THE JCIWCV DELEGATION. HIRANO'S REACTION WAS IMMEDIATE AND DECISIVE. HE PROPOSED THAT THE FULL JCIWCV DELEGATION IMMEDIATELY RETURN TO JAPAN, LEAVING THE COPENHAGEN SESSION FLAT ON THE EVE OF ITS CONVENING. HIRANO SAID THAT HIS STRONG VIEW WAS BASED, NOT ON A FEELING OF PERSONAL INSULT, BUT ON THE CLEAR ISSUE THAT THIS ACTION BY SCHWARTZ AND THE IWCT LEADERSHIP OF REFUSING HIRANO AS A TRIBUNAL JUDGE WAS AN UNFORGIVEABLE AFFRONT TO THE JAPAN PEACE COMMITTEE AND TO ALL OF JAPAN. HIRANO'S REACTION WAS QUITE EMOTIONAL, AND HE USED SUCH EXPRESSIONS "THE IWCT HAS PUT ITS FOOT IN THE JAPANESE FACE." HOWEVER, MORIKAWA AND KUFUSHIMA YOICHI TOOK A SOFTER STAND, WHILE AGREEING IN PRINCIPLE WITH HIRANO. FUNAZAKI ZENZABURO AND SHIBATA SHINGO EXPRESSED NO OPINION IN THIS DEBATE. MORIKAWA AND FUKUSHIMA COUNSELED THAT A JCIWCV WALK OUT THEN WOULD

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EFFECTIVELY CRIPPLE THE COPENHAGEN SESSION, SINCE JCIWCV PARTICIPATION WAS A KEY PART OF THE COPENHAGEN PROGRAM. MORIKAWA AND FUKUSHIMA PERSUADED HIRANO TO WITHHOLD JUDGEMENT UNTIL THEY HAD CONSULTED THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATIONS ON THIS PROBLEM.

11. WHEN CONSULTED, THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATES SAID THAT WHILE THEY COULD SYMPATHIZE WITH HIRANO'S UPSET FEELINGS, THEY COULD NOT SUGGEST ANY MEANS TO REMEDY THE SITUATION. THE VIETNAMESE DID STRONGLY APPEAL TO THE JAPANESE NOT TO WALK OUT, BUT TO REMAIN AND COOPERATE IN THE COPENHAGEN SESSION IN SPITE OF THIS TROUBLE.

12. IN VIEW OF THIS VIETNAMESE APPEAL, MORIKAWA AND FUKUSHIMA BOTH OPTED FOR STAYING ON IN COPENHAGEN. HIRANO REMAINED OPPOSED AND INSISTED ON THE ENTIRE DELEGATION WALKING OUT. FUNAZAKI AND SHIBATA WENT ALONG WITH THE MAJORITY. THUS, THE JCIWCV DELEGATION DID NOT WALK OUT. ALTHOUGH UNHAPPY, HIRANO, TOO, REMAINED IN COPENHAGEN AS AN OBSERVER AND NOT A TRIBUNAL JUDGE.

13. AS A COMPROMISE GESTURE TOWARD THE JAPANESE: THE IWCT LEADERS DID PERMIT FUKUSHIMA TO REPRESENT TEMPORARILY

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SAKATA AT THE COPENHAGEN SESSION. HOWEVER, AS SAKATA'S REPRESENTATIVE, FUKUSHIMA HAD NO VOTING RIGHTS WITH THE REGULAR JUDGES, ALTHOUGH HE PARTICIPATED IN ALL OTHER FUNCTIONS OF THE JUDGES, SUCH AS QUESTIONING WITNESSES AND EXAMINING EVIDENCE.

14. THE DELEGATIONS FROM DENMARK AND ISRAEL BOTH TRIED TO HAVE REPRESENTATIVES ELECTED AS NEW JUDGES FOR THE COPENHAGEN SESSION. ALTHOUGH THERE WAS A GREAT DEAL OF DESIRE WITHIN THE IWCT LEADERSHIP TO ACCOMMODATE THESE REQUESTS, THE FINAL DECISION WAS TO REJECT THEM. THE REJECTION RESULTED FROM A THREAT BY THE JCIWCV DELEGATION TO EXPOSE PUBLICLY THE HIRANO INCIDENT IF ANY NEW JUDGES WERE SEADED. THEREFORE, NO NEW JUDGES WERE ADDED TO THE TRIBUNAL AT COPENHAGEN.

15. THE BERTRAND RUSSELL PEACE FOUNDATION (BRPF) WAS REPRESENTED AT COPENHAGEN BY LAWRENCE DALY, WHO WAS ACCCOMPANIED BY A PERSONAL SECRETARY. HOWEVER, DALY WAS INACTIVE AT COPENHAGEN AND THE INFLUENCE OF THE BRPF WAS WEAK AND MEANINGLESS. [redacted]

COMMENT: THE BRPF WAS ALSO REPRESENTED BY A BRPF DIRECTOR, RUSSELL STETLER, JR., AND QUINTIN HOARE.)

16. ONCE THE COPENHAGEN SESSION CONVENED, THE PERFOR-

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MANCE AND PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY WAS SMOOTH. THE FRENCH IWCT LEADERSHIP DOMINATED THE ACTIVITY AND EFFECTIVELY CONTROLLED THE SESSION THROUGHOUT.

17. THE JCIWCV DELEGATION EVALUATED THE PERFORMANCE OF THE THREE U.S. SERVICEMEN AT COPENHAGEN AS THE MOST POPULAR EXHIBIT, AND AN EXCELLENT ACCOMPLISHMENT. THE SECOND MOST POPULAR PERFORMANCE AT COPENHAGEN WAS THAT OF THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATES, COLLECTIVELY. THE JAPANESE THOUGHT THAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL DESERVED A THIRD PRIZE AWARD FOR HIS PERFORMANCE. THE JCIWCV DELEGATION WAS THOROUGHLY SATISFIED BY DAVE DELLINGER'S WORK AT COPENHAGEN AND HAD NO CRITICISM TO MAKE OF HIM.

18. THE IWCT DID NOT INTERFERE IN ANY WAY IN THE CASE OF RALPH SCHOENMAN'S FRUITLESS ATTEMPTS TO REACH COPENHAGEN TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SESSION. IWCT OFFICIALS ADOPTED A STRICTLY "HANDS OFF" ATTITUDE ON THE SCHOENMAN CASE THROUGHOUT.

19. WHEN THE JCIWCV DELEGATION RETURNED TO TOKYO AND REPORTED TO JCP HEADQUARTERS ON ITS ACTIVITY AT COPENHAGEN, JCP PRESIDIUM MEMBER NISHIZAWA TOMIO (THE TOP JCP FOREIGN

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AFFAIRS SPECIALIST AND PERSON CHIEFLY RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS JCIWCV ACTIVITY) EXPLODED IN ANGER. NISHIZAWA COMPLETELY SUPPORTED HIRANO'S STAND AT COPENHAGEN AND HARSHLY CRITICIZED THE JCIWCV DELEGATION FOR NOT WALKING OUT BEFORE THE SESSION CONVENED. NISHIZAWA WENT SO FAR AS TO RIDICULE FUKUSHIMA AND MORIKAWA FOR THEIR WEAKNESS AND SAID THAT THEY DID NOT DESERVE TO BE CALLED COMMUNISTS. NISHIZAWA PARTICULARLY CRITICIZED MORIKAWA FOR FAILING NOT ONLY TO OBTAIN A COPY OF THE LETTER SENT TO SCHWARTZ CRITICIZING HIRANO BUT ALSO FOR NOT EVEN GETTING A LOOK AT THE LETTER OR INSISTING ON BEING TOLD THE NAME OF THE WRITER.

20. WHEN MORIKAWA AND FUKUSHIMA TRIED TO DEFEND THEIR ACTION AT COPENHAGEN AS HAVING BEEN FOR THE SAKE OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE, NISHIZAWA SILENCED THEM BY SAYING THAT THEIR FIRST LOYALTY WAS TO THE JCP AND THAT THEY HAD BETRAYED AT COPENHAGEN THE JCP'S LONG, HARD STRUGGLE TO DEMONSTRATE TRUE "INDEPENDENCE" IN ALL FIELDS. NISHIZAWA SAID THAT THE ACTIONS OF MORIKAWA AND FUKUSHIMA UNDERMINED THE JCP'S DELICATE POSITION IN RELATION TO THE SINO-SOVIET STRUGGLE, AND THE INTENT TO SUPPORT THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE

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WAS NOT SUFFICIENT JUSTIFICATION FOR THEIR ACTIONS.

21. JCP OFFICIALS ARE NOW CONSIDERING WHAT TO DO WITH THE JCIWVC ORGANIZATION AND ITS HEADQUARTERS OFFICE, SINCE THE IWCT ACTIVITY IS FINISHED. THERE IS SOME DESIRE TO LEAVE THE JCIWCV INTACT, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING, AND TO CONTINUE TO SUE IT AS A VIETNAM FRONT BY THE JCP. THE JCP IS ALSO CONSIDERING WHETHER OR NOT TO HONOR MORIKAWA'S COMMITMENT TO ACT AS THE JCIWCV REPRESENTATIVE TO THE NOMINAL IWCT "CONTINUATION COMMITTEE," AND THERE IS A STRONG LIKELIHOOD THE JCP WILL DROP EVEN THIS SUPERFICIAL TIE TO THIS INTERNATIONAL FRONT ACTIVITY.

22. THE JCP HAS ARRANGED FOR A KYOTO BOOK PUBLISHER (JIMBUN SHOIN, THE JAPANESE PUBLISHER FOR ALL OF JEAN-PAUL SARTRE'S WORKS) TO PUBLISH IN JAPANESE THE OFFICIAL RECORDS OF THE COPENHAGEN SESSION FOR PUBLIC SALE IN JAPAN. PUBLICATION IS SET FOR APRIL 1968. ALL ROYALTY COMMISSIONS FROM SALES WILL GO TO THE JCIWCV.

23. THE JCP HAS ALSO LAUNCHED AN INVESTIGATION TO TRY TO DETERMINE WHO SENT THE LETTER ABOUT HIRANO TO SCHWARTZ. THE JCP HAS UNDER SUSPICION JAPANESE TROTSKYIST TSURUSHIMA

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SETSUREI AND TWO ACTIVISTS IN THE JAPAN "PEACE FOR VIETNAM" COMMITTEE (BEHEIREN). ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

24. THE JCIWCV DELEGATION PAID ITS OWN TRAVEL COSTS TO AND FROM COPENHAGEN, BUT ALL THE EXPENSES FOR ITS STAY IN COPENHAGEN WERE PAID BY THE IWCT PARIS SECRETARIAT. THE JAPANESE WERE IMPRESSED WITH THE SEEMING ABUNDANCE OF FUNDS AVAILABLE TO THE IWCT PARIS SECRETARIAT OFFICIALS.

25. FIELD DISSEM: CINCPAC PACFLT PACAF ARPAC STATE ARMAATT NAVATT AIRATT USFJ NSAPAC/J COMNAVJ NISOJ 5AF 6499SG 500MIG USARJ D046/OSI DET4/FID ALSO SENT [redacted]

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